



“The Eyes of Goats and of Women”: Femininity and the Post-Thelemic Witchcraft of Jack Parsons and Kenneth Grant

Manon Hedenborg White

Aleister Crowley (1875–1947) shaped the trajectory of modern witchcraft by influencing early Wicca. Gerald Gardner (1884–1964), generally credited with popularising Wicca in the mid-twentieth century, met with Crowley on several occasions, was initiated into Crowley’s Ordo Templi Orientis (OTO), and borrowed heavily from Crowley’s writings in formulating the early liturgy and rituals of Wicca.¹ Crowley, for whatever reason, does not appear to have taken a reciprocal interest in Gardner’s witchcraft, and an oft-cited anecdote claims this was due to Crowley’s scepticism towards the prominence of women in Wicca.² While the historical veracity of this narrative is dubious, it reflects a frequently repeated trope, namely, Crowley as a misogynist.³ Elsewhere, I have argued that this view is overly simplistic, overlooking both the central role of femininity as a soteriological concept within Crowley’s initiatory system, as well as that of actual women in the religious movement it spawned both historically and today.⁴ However, given the frequency with which ideas about Crowley’s sexism are repeated, it is somewhat ironic that his religion Thelema (Greek for

M. Hedenborg White (✉)
Södertörn University, Södertörn, Sweden

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“will”) more directly inspired two other heterodox interpreters of witchcraft, who both, in different ways, sought to reconceptualise femininity and the role of women in magic: the American rocket scientist John “Jack” Whiteside Parsons (1914–1952) and the British occultist and writer Kenneth Grant (1924–2011). This chapter, beginning with a necessarily brief overview of how witch-related themes figured in Crowley’s vast *oeuvre*, will analyse and contextualise Parsons’s and Grant’s interpretations of witchcraft, paying attention to how both writers’ engagement therewith can be linked to their concern with revaluating femininity.

BACKGROUND

The year 1904 marks the starting point of Thelema. On honeymoon in Cairo with his first wife, Rose (née Kelly, 1874–1932), over the course of three days, Crowley received what he perceived as a divinely inspired text, dictated to him by a discarnate entity named Aiwass.⁵ Titled *Liber AL vel Legis sub figura CCXX* (colloquially known as *The Book of the Law*), the text proclaims the advent of a new aeon in the spiritual evolution of humanity, characterised by the maxim: “Do what thou wilt shall be the whole of the Law”. *Liber AL* is divided into three chapters, each ascribed to a separate deity: the goddess Nuit, representing infinite space or the cosmic feminine principle; the god Hadit, epitomising the infinitely condensed life-force of each individual, or the masculine principle; and the god Ra-Hoor-Khuit, their divine offspring, and the ruler of the new aeon.⁶

Although it is unclear whether Crowley and Gardner discussed witchcraft during their meetings, some of Crowley’s early poetry (written decades earlier) engages with the same themes and motifs that inspired witchcraft’s modern emergence: romanticised views of the heaths and hill-tops of rural England, the witches’ sabbath, and the god Pan.⁷ For instance, Crowley’s poem “The Augur” (1909) alludes clearly to the sabbatic motif, with the narrator of the poem entreating his lover:

Crown ... These brows with nightshade, monkshood and vervain! / Let us
anoint us with the unguents brown / That waft our wizard bodies to the
plain / Where in the circle of unholy stones / The unconsecrated Sabbath
is at height.⁸

The reference to anointing one’s body with an herbal unguent indicates popular beliefs, present since early modernity, that witches used a magical

ointment so as to transport themselves to the sabbath.⁹ The poem "The Wizard Way" (1909) also describes a sorcerer attending "the Sabbath of his God", encountering a "cubic stone / With the Devil set thereon". Pan, satyrs, and fauns also figure in the poem, and the narrator declares himself to have "faery blood", having been sired by "a druid, a devil, a bard, / A beast, a wizard, a snake and a satyr".¹⁰

Witch-related symbolism recurs in some of Crowley's significant magical works. The essay "The Wake World" (1907) gives an allegorical account of initiation based on kabbalistic and tarot symbolism, told through the story of the young girl Lola and her Holy Guardian Angel, whom she calls her Fairy Prince. Among other adventures encountered during their journey, Lola and the prince participate in a ceremony akin to the witches' sabbath, encountering the Devil and partaking in dancing and cannibalism. However, Lola is assured the Devil is actually the saviour of the world, and that their actions are all "good and right".¹¹

References to witchcraft and Romantic literary themes also feature in *The Vision and the Voice*, Crowley's record of his exploration of the Enochian "Aethyrs", mostly conducted in 1909 with the aid of his disciple and lover, the poet Victor B. Neuburg (1883–1940).¹² In the twelfth Aethyr, Crowley first encounters the goddess Babalon. Based on a positive reinterpretation of the Whore of Babylon from the Book of Revelation (17), Babalon in Crowley's system represents the spiritual formula of passionate union with existence. She is linked to one of the final stages of initiation, the so-called crossing of the Abyss, wherein the adept must annihilate their ego, metaphorically draining their blood into Babalon's cup.¹³

Babalon's cup is described as filled with the blood of the "saints" who have successfully completed this process of mystical death and rebirth, uniting with the all. Crowley's record of the vision proceeds to identify the blood in the cup as "the wine of the Sabbath".¹⁴ While Revelation describes the Great Whore as "drunken with the blood of the saints", the concept of sabbatic wine does not feature in the text.¹⁵ Although Crowley's usage of the phrase could be interpreted as a reference to Jewish tradition, I propose that the most plausible direct source is Arthur Machen's episodic horror novel *The Three Impostors* (1895), one of whose episodes features a powder derived from the "*Vinum Sabbati*" or sabbatic wine, which is strongly suggested to have sexual components.¹⁶ If this text indeed inspired Crowley's usage of the phrase, this also foreshadows his later association of

the sabbatic wine with sexual magic (explained later in the chapter). The “Black Sabbath” is also referenced, more ambivalently, in Crowley’s record of the tenth and fourth Aethyrs.¹⁷

In the second Aethyr, Babalon is described as having “dance[d] in the night, naked upon the grass, in shadowy places, by running streams”, and wandered the earth as a nymph. The text partially conflates Babalon and Pan as the gentle woodland god celebrated by the Romantic poets, representing the beauty and splendour of the natural world. In his commentary to the record (written years later), Crowley writes that Babalon appears to be the feminine or androgynous equivalent of Pan, “not merely [his] complement”.¹⁸

In 1912, Crowley was made British head of Ordo Templi Orientis (OTO), an initiatory fraternity that claimed to possess the secret of sexual magic, taught in the order’s higher degrees and heralded as the “key” to “all Masonic and Hermetic secrets”.¹⁹ Crowley wrote a number of grade-specific instructions for OTO, such as “De Nuptiis Secretis Deorum cum Hominibus” (1914), which pertains to the VIII° (eighth degree). The fifth sub-section of the text, titled “De Sabbato Adeptorum” or “Of the Sabbath of the Adepts”, describes a dark age of Christian superstition, during which a select few perpetuated the true mysteries. These adepts would, supposedly, meet clandestinely in rural areas to invoke a deity who was seen as Satan by outsiders, but who was really Pan, Bacchus, Baphomet, or Babalon.²⁰ While this text suggests the external form of witchcraft as imagined by its opponents really veils a deeper mystery, it nonetheless connects historical perceptions of witchcraft to what Crowley here construes as a sort of predecessor of OTO.

Finally, the instruction “Agape vel Liber C vel Azoth” (1914), written for the IX° of OTO, is subtitled “the Book of the Unveiling of the Sangraal wherein it is spoken of the Wine of the Sabbath of The Adepts”. While the term “Sabbath” has multiple possible meanings in this context, the overlap in phrasing with the previously discussed sub-section of “De Nuptiis”, combined with the temporal closeness of the texts, suggests similar associations. The OTO’s IX° is associated with heterosexual sex magic.²¹ The typescript copy of the document begins with a quote equating the sun with wine and the moon with the cup, stipulating that the sun should be poured into the moon.²² Given Crowley’s frequent identification of the sun with masculine regenerative power, this may imply that the sabbatic wine (at least in this context) is equivalent to semen.²³ Thus, “Liber C” appears to suggest an implicit connection between the sabbath and sexual magic.

A comprehensive review of all occurrences of witch-related symbolism in Crowley's writings exceeds the scope of this article. The purpose of this overview has not been to suggest that witchcraft was a central concept in Crowley's thought; on the contrary, it is ostensibly a marginal theme. The sabbatic symbolism of "The Augur" and "The Wake World" can be read as part of Crowley's broader preoccupation with the idea of spiritual redemption through transgression, or what he described as "justification by sin".²⁴ This concern with symbolic inversion has numerous expressions throughout Crowley's *oeuvre*, many of which play a far more prominent role than witchcraft in his thought.²⁵ The references to the sabbath in the OTO degree documents evade easy interpretation outside of the larger context of OTO's initiatory system, but may imply the belief that the order's sexual magic is derived from an older tradition.

WITCHCRAFT IN THE WRITINGS OF JACK PARSONS

Jack Parsons is one of the most mythologised figures in twentieth-century occultism; a mostly autodidact rocketeer, he contributed to the development of the solid rocket fuel that enabled the moon landing. Parsons grew up an avid reader and lover of sci-fi, as well as all tales epic, fantastic, and mythological.²⁶ Having initially visited the OTO's Agape Lodge in 1939, Parsons and his first wife Helen (née Northrup, 1910–2003) were initiated into the order on February 15, 1941.²⁷ In autumn 1945, Parsons commenced a succession of magical operations aimed at obtaining an elemental mate—a female magical partner.²⁸ He was aided in this endeavour by L. Ron Hubbard (1911–1986), sci-fi author and later founder of Scientology.²⁹ When the illustrator and former naval cartographer Marjorie Cameron (1924–1995) arrived on his doorstep, Parsons was instantly smitten. With the assistance of Hubbard and Cameron, Parsons undertook a series of rituals aimed at incarnating Babalon in human form as a revolutionary, female messiah.³⁰

On February 28, 1946, Parsons ventured into the Mojave Desert, where he heard a voice dictating a text to him. The narrative "I" of the text declares itself as Babalon, who announces her imminent incarnation on earth. "Liber 49"—as Parsons titled the text—clearly references witchcraft. It is declared that Babalon's "adept" (likely a reference to Parsons) will be "crucified in the Basilisk abode".³¹ The term "Basilisk abode" is seemingly directly derived from Crowley's poem "The Wizard Way" (discussed above).³² It is said that Babalon's human incarnation or "daughter"

shall “wander in the witchwood under the Night of Pan, and know the mysteries of the Goat and the Serpent”.³³ Babalon’s encouragement to her followers builds on popular witch mythology:

Gather together in the covens as of old, whose number is eleven, that is also my number. ... Gather together in secret, be naked and shameless and rejoice in my name. 66. Work your spells by the mode of my book, practicing secretly, inducing the supreme spell. 67. The work of the image, and the potion and the charm, the work of the spider and the snake, and the little ones that go in the dark, this is your work. 68. ... 70. You the secret, the outcast, the accursed and despised, even you that gathered privily of old in my rites under the moon.³⁴

Despite this, witchcraft was not a major theme in Parsons’s record of his “Babalon Working”, which focused more on Babalon as a revolutionary and emancipatory feminine force. Parsons developed this idea in “Freedom is a Two-Edged Sword”, a sexpartite essay written between 1946 and 1950 in which the author expresses his frustration at the increasingly paranoid and anti-communist American government, and critiques religious and sexual repression. Significantly, Parsons devotes a sizeable portion of “Freedom” to critiquing patriarchy, ascribing the oppression of women to Christian sex-negativity, and writing that women must ultimately be the ones to strike back and save all of humanity.³⁵ He posits Babalon as the epitome of this female revolutionary force, and also draws on notions of pre-Christian matriarchy as an ideal, egalitarian society in which feminine power was celebrated:

It is not a matriarchy as we imagine it, a rule of clubwomen, or frustrated chickens. It is an equality. The woman is the priestess, in her reposes the mystery. She is the mother, brooding yet tender, the lover, at once passionate and aloof, the wife, revered and cherished. She is the witch woman. It is coequal.³⁶

In the above excerpt, the “witch woman” is presented as the paragon of spiritually and erotically emancipated femininity. Parsons suggests pagan witchcraft has survived in the “dianic cult”, and issues a rallying cry to its supposed adherents: “Witch woman, out of the ashes of the stake, rise again!”³⁷ Female liberation is a central concept in the essay, as in other essays by Parsons from the same period.³⁸ In this, and by suggesting witchcraft as the descendant of an ancient pagan cult characterised by gender

equality, Parsons's writings foreshadow later articulations of feminist witchcraft in the 1970s and 1980s.³⁹ However, as I will return to later in the chapter, Parsons likely derived this association between witchcraft and women's liberation from older sources.

Parsons also explored witchcraft in lyrical form in *Songs for the Witch Woman*, a series of poems mostly written between 1946 and his death in 1952.⁴⁰ The collection is dedicated to Cameron, who illustrated several poems. While a detailed discussion of each poem exceeds the scope of this chapter, many of their titles—"Witch Woman", "Pan", "The Witch House", and "Aradia"—clearly indicate the central themes and motifs. The poem "Stonehenge" evokes a desolate, rural landscape whose "ancient oaks are shadowy and still", and which awaits "a thaumaturgic tune / That called old gods beneath a younger moon / and will await until the gods come back". Cameron's accompanying drawing depicts a curled-up, feminine figure, floating above a line of standing, long-shadowed dark stones. The poem indicates the idea of an ancient cult, whose gods will reawaken: "They will return, who, going, left the slow / Still circle broken and the altar black".⁴¹ Similar themes are explored in "Merlin":

The hours darken and the years / Grow black with evil things / And mad machines spawn monstrous fears / That follow sleep with sombre wings. / The sword lies dreaming in the stone / Neath waters over Avalon. / I would there were one man to tell / The evil dream, the darkling hell, / To seize the sword, to raise the spell, / Then England's mighty oaks would sing, / The mistletoe, beneath the moon, / Would glow and chant the Druid rune. / The spirit of the corn / Would walk, and greet the morn.⁴²

With its references to machines breeding "monstrous fears", "Merlin" appears to critique industrialisation, conjuring a slumbering landscape awaiting the return of old rites. This trope is worth calling attention to, indicating Parsons's ambivalent view of the new aeon, as I shall return to later in the chapter.

In "Sabat", a yellow-eyed goat and a slyly smiling woman convene by moonlight, where "[t]he altar shall be white / As your white body, sister, / The chalice cup be red / As your mouth, sly smiling. / Bright blood and dark desire / Shall feed the altar fire".⁴³ In the poem, the feminised body of "sister" is juxtaposed with the altar and chalice, rendering an implicit association between feminine embodiment and the physicality of magic. While several of the poems in the collection approach their subject matter

somewhat ambivalently, this nonetheless suggests Parsons's continued, associative connection between femininity and witchcraft, as articulated in his essay "Freedom".

Many of the poems blend Romantic and Gothic influences. "The Witch House" mentions gleaming witchfires, demons, "witch queens", and "death, like the tick of a clock in a boarded up room".⁴⁴ "Danse" describes a sinister gathering attended by a werewolf and a vampire, who is "fondling a skull". The werewolf sings of the moon as a "bloody promise in the sky", as well as of "black stars and wicked women", and a "serpent woman smiling sinister".⁴⁵ Black stars are a recurring verbal image in *Songs for the Witch Woman*, also appearing in *The Black Pilgrimage*, a collection of dark poetry and ink drawings by Cameron.⁴⁶ The phrase, and some of the ominous and absurd imagery in Parsons's and Cameron's poetic work, indicates a possible influence from horror writer R. W. Chambers's influential *The King in Yellow* (1895), which repeatedly mentions "black stars" in its descriptions of a mythical city named Carcosa.⁴⁷

Aside from the above-mentioned lyrical treatments, witchcraft is briefly referenced in two of Parsons's magical texts from this period, both chronicling an initiatory, astral journey he called the "Black Pilgrimage" to the city of Chorazin.⁴⁸ In "The Book of Antichrist", Parsons describes being shown his previous incarnations, seeing himself as Gilles de Rais, attempting to "raise Jehanne Darc [*sic*] to be Queen of Witchcraft", and "Francis Hepburne, Earl Bothwell, manipulating Gellis Duncan [*sic*]".⁴⁹ Both Duncan and Hepburne are historical figures who were accused of witchcraft in the sixteenth century. In her influential *The Witch-Cult in Western Europe* (1921), Margaret Murray claimed that Duncan partook in a witch cult centred around the worship of a horned deity embodied by Hepburne.⁵⁰ The manuscript "The Black Pilgrimage", Parsons's diary record of the procedure, mentions both "witch lords" and a "witches' ladder".⁵¹

In 1950, Parsons sought to formulate and popularise witchcraft as a religion. Having expressed his frustration at what he saw as the "claptrap" and "indirection" of magic, he desired an "austere simplicity of approach".⁵² In the essay "Manifesto of the Witchcraft", Parsons claims that humankind requires "a new religion", to aid in the attainment of "freedom, self-expression, and ability to love and be loved".⁵³ Parsons elaborated the underlying philosophy in a longer text, positing a gender-polar cosmology of "the holy graal, the Cup of Babalon, WOMAN, and the eternal force embodied in woman", united with "[t]he Sword, solar-phallic emblem of

the demon-angel—the beast-god that is man”. Combined, these two form “[t]he Crux Ansata ... the child that is the perfect fruit of that union”. Parsons stresses that his religion centres on “the wonder and beauty of sex, and that which lies beyond sex”.⁵⁴ He presents witchcraft as “the oldest organization in the world”:

When man was born, we were. We sang the first cradle song. ... Rock drawings in the Pyrenees remember us, and little clay images, made for an old purpose when the world was new. Our hand was on the old stone circles, the monolith, the dolmen, and the druid oak. We sang the first hunting songs, we made the first crops to grow; when man stood naked before the Powers that made him, we sang the first chant of terror and wonder. We wooed among the Pyramids, watched Egypt rise and fall, ruled for a space in Chaldea and Babylon, the Magian Kings. We sat among the secret assemblies of Israel, and danced the wild and stately dances in the sacred groves of Greece.⁵⁵

The text reflects the anti-authoritarian views also voiced in “Freedom”, as seen above. Witchcraft is presented as an anarchic movement “on the side of man, of life, and of the individual”, and opposed to “religion, morality and government”. Parsons equates this aspect of witchcraft with Lucifer. Positing a divine gender polarity as central to his witchcraft, the text construes Lucifer as counterbalanced by the force of Babalon, associated with “love ... joy and laughter and divine drunkenness”.⁵⁶ Among the spiritual ancestors of the cult, Parsons lists:

Merlin ... Gawain and Arthur, Rabelais and Catullus, Gilles de Retz and Jehanne d’Arc, De Molensis, Johannes Dee, Cagliostro, Francis Hepburn and Gellis Duncan, Swinburne and Eliphas Levi, and many another bard, Magus, poet, martyr known and unknown that carried our banners against the enemy multiform and ubiquitous, the Church and the State. And when that vermin of Hell that is called the Christian Church held all the West in a slavery of sin and death and terror, we, and we alone, brought hope to the heart of man, despite the dungeon and the stake [*sic*].⁵⁷

The list of names is clearly inspired by the list of “Saints” in Crowley’s Gnostic Mass, written in 1913, which includes many of the (male) names given in the extract.⁵⁸ The addition of Gawain, Gilles de Rais, Joan of Arc, Cagliostro, Francis Hepburne, and Gellis Duncan (all but one of which appear in Parsons’s list of previous incarnations) appears to add a stronger

flavour of witchcraft, or even Devil worship, to Parsons' old-new religion, and it is also notable that Parsons adds female names to the list.

Despite the similarities between Wicca and Parsons's gender-polar nature religion, there is no real evidence of collaboration between Parsons and Gardner, and the parallels between the two systems are more plausibly explained by both men being inspired by many of the same written works. Firstly, and most obviously, Gardner and Parsons were both indebted to Crowley, although (as I will argue later) less to the latter's explicit mentions of witches than to his magical system as a whole. Secondly, Parsons, like Gardner, was clearly influenced by late-nineteenth and early-twentieth-century writers who suggested witchcraft to be the perpetuation of an ancient fertility cult driven underground by the advent of Christianity. A prominent example, whom Hutton has shown to have been integral for the development of Wicca, is the French historian Jules Michelet (1798–1874).⁵⁹ Although its historical accuracy is widely dismissed, Michelet's *La Sorcière* (1862) is noted for being one of the first sympathetic histories of witchcraft.⁶⁰ Michelet argues that medieval witches were rebels against feudalism and the Church, and that their patron deity Satan was a benevolent figure linked to nature, laughter, and the arts. Michelet's proto-feminist and egalitarian ideas, and the similarities between his and Parsons's respective interpretations of the anti-authoritarian witch, render the French historian a likely source of inspiration for Parsons.

A similarly influential book for the emergence of modern witchcraft is Charles Godfrey Leland's (1824–1903) *Aradia, or the Gospel of the Witches* (1899).⁶¹ The book details Leland's alleged findings studying folk traditions in Italy, where he claimed to have uncovered a surviving witch cult of pre-Christian origin. While not explicit Satanists, Leland's witches nonetheless revered Lucifer alongside the goddess Diana.⁶² This resembles Parsons's notion of Lucifer and Babalon as gods of witchcraft, although Parsons's affirmation of Lucifer is unreserved (while Leland's view of the figure is ambivalent).⁶³ There are strong similarities between Parsons's and Leland's work, most importantly Parsons's association of witchcraft with anti-authoritarianism and gender equality. Combined with the fact that Parsons penned a poem titled "Aradia", it is reasonable to assume Parsons's witchcraft was inspired by Leland. Moreover, there are parallels between Parsons's ideas about Babalon's human "daughter", descending to earth to liberate humankind from slavery and repression, and Leland's mythology around Aradia as a female figure of divine origin, descending to aid the poor in their struggle against their wealthy oppressors. Throughout *Songs*

for the *Witch Woman*, there are references to poisonous herbs such as hellebore, monkshood, and wolf's bane (the latter two of which denote the botanical genus *Aconitum*).⁶⁴ While these botanical names may simply be meant to convey a witchy ambiance, they could also be more directly inspired by Leland's *Aradia*, who teaches the witches the art of poisoning.

An accidental explosion claimed Parsons's life in 1952, and his preserved writings are sparse. As seen above, he may have drawn some inspiration from Crowley's references to witchcraft; "Liber 49" appears to have borrowed the term "Basilisk abode" from Crowley's "The Wizard Way", and the integration of (imagined) historical witchcraft with OTO's sexual magic in Crowley's description of the "Sabbath" in "De Nuptiis" may have sparked Parsons's imagination.⁶⁵ Crucially, however, Parsons unlike Crowley promoted witchcraft as a fully fledged religion in itself. Moreover, I contend that Crowley's explicit references to witch-related symbolism were less important to Parsons's configuration of witchcraft than the philosophical and magical underpinnings of Crowley's Thelema in general: the emphasis on individual liberty, gender-polar ontology (altered from the Nuit and Hadit of *Liber AL* to the Lucifer-Babalon coupling of Parsons's witchcraft), and the notion of sex as a divine sacrament.

While feminist themes are present in some of Crowley's writings, female emancipation plays a proportionally greater role in Parsons's *oeuvre*, and his articulation of witchcraft appears linked to his vision of women as spiritual and social leaders.⁶⁶ Parsons's call for the rise of the "witch woman" invokes a proto-feminist, nature-romantic worldview that prefigures the popularisation of eco-feminism in the late twentieth century, albeit with a lesser emphasis on environmentalism. Nonetheless, Parsons's own description of the new aeon as having a "homicidal and suicidal urge" requiring the balancing force of Babalon,⁶⁷ his engagement with Gothic and Romantic themes, and his celebration of nature and irrationality suggest a critical approach towards his own time. Thus, I propose that witchcraft may be interpreted as Parsons's attempt to fashion Crowley's teachings into the austere simple religious system he desired, combining the anti-authoritarian creed of Thelema with a stronger emphasis on socio-political transformation, female liberation, and anti-modern critique.

Finally, the immense impact of fiction on Parsons's worldview exceeds the scope of the present discussion. As indicated in previous studies, Parsons was likely inspired by pulp author Jack Williamson's 1948 novel *Darker Than You Think* (first published as a short story in 1940), which features a clandestine cult of shape-shifting witches waiting for a dark

messiah known as the “Child of Night”.⁶⁸ Similarly, the concept of the Black Pilgrimage was partly drawn from horror author M. R. James’s short story “Count Magnus”.⁶⁹ As noted above, it is also possible Parsons and Cameron were inspired by Chambers’s *The King in Yellow*. Parsons shared this tendency to draw on fiction in articulating his magical ideas with Kenneth Grant, to whose interpretation of the witch we shall now turn.

WITCHCRAFT IN THE WRITINGS OF KENNETH GRANT

Having first encountered Crowley’s writings at the age of 15, Kenneth Grant later struck up a correspondence with the famous occultist, briefly serving as his secretary.⁷⁰ In 1946, Crowley introduced Grant to David Curwen (1893–1984) an OTO IX° initiate and student of Swami Pareswara Bikshu.⁷¹ Under Curwen’s influence, Grant developed a life-long interest in Tantra, specifically what he called the “vama marg”, or “Left-Hand Path”.⁷² In 1948, after Crowley’s death, Grant was accepted into the IX° of the OTO, although he was later expelled from the order. Around the same time, Grant was also introduced to the occultist Austin Osman Spare (1886–1956) by his wife, Steffi.⁷³

Inspired by the work of amateur Egyptologist Gerald Massey (1828–1907), Grant espoused the idea of a primordial, stellar-lunar cult around the goddess Typhon and her son, Set, emerging in Central Africa and systematised in ancient Egypt. Following the discovery of the role of semen in procreation, Grant contends, the Typhonians were driven underground by devotees of the solar god Osiris, and the Typhonian mysteries subsequently flourished in various Tantras. Grant explicates the Typhonian Tradition in nine volumes known as the Typhonian Trilogies, a dazzlingly intertextual corpus that integrates Thelema and Tantra with, among other influences, H. P. Lovecraft’s horror fiction, Surrealism, Advaita Vedanta, and UFOs (unidentified flying objects).⁷⁴

In his sex-magical instructions for the OTO’s IX°, Crowley posited semen as the magical body fluid *par excellence*, construing the female sex-magical partner as a “shrine indeed for the God, but not the God”.⁷⁵ Grant objected, seeing Crowley’s perception of the IX° as limited. Instead, Grant argued that the essence of the Tantric “Left-Hand Path”, with which he himself identified, was its focus on the divine feminine, embodied by a skilled sexual priestess trained to emit *kalas*, female genital secretions “charged with magical energy”.⁷⁶ The *kalas* play a central role in Grant’s Typhonian Trilogies, largely replacing semen as the most magically

potent sexual fluid. In some texts, Grant juxtaposes the *kalas* with the idea of sabbatic wine. In the essay "Vinum Sabbati", originally part of the *Carfax Monographs*—a series of essays published between 1959 and 1963 accompanied by artwork by Steffi Grant—Grant links Babalon's cup to the "wine of the Sabbath", equated with "the blood of the saints which seethes in the Holy Grail". He suggests that the figure of the witch is a degradation of the Sophia worshipped by the early Christians, stigmatised after perceptions of biological regeneration shifted to focus on paternity. Grant writes that the symbolism of the sabbath—the "goat or ram ... the cat, toad, basilisk, beetle, serpent, spider, and even the babe whose fat went into the making of the infernal unguent"; the backwards recitation of the Lord's prayer; and the privileging of female above male, and moon above sun—has esoteric meaning, signifying the principle of "[a]tavistic resurgence", or the urge to return to "the common source of all". He also writes that the historical sabbath was conducted on the astral plane.⁷⁷

In "Vinum Sabbati", Grant identifies the sabbatic wine with a union of "solar and lunar energies", writing that the sabbath entailed a sublimation of "blood or essence ... so that it might form itself into non-material bodies".⁷⁸ This would suggest the sabbatic wine to constitute a mingling of masculine and feminine sexual fluids; however, Grant's hints as to the exact components of the substance are partly contradictory. In *Aleister Crowley & the Hidden God* (1973), he identifies the wine directly with the *kalas*, writing that the *Vinum Sabbati* is "the mystical effusion of the Scarlet Woman".⁷⁹ The term Scarlet Woman, derived from Crowley's writings, is repeatedly used by Grant in reference to the Tantric priestess, and he also identifies this term with the witch.⁸⁰ In *Cults of the Shadow* (1975), Grant identifies menstrual blood as "the basis of the *vinum sabbati*".⁸¹ In *Nightside of Eden* (1977), however, he describes the sabbatic wine as the result of the "solar-phallic energy ... streaking into the mouth, chalice or womb of the Moon".⁸² He explains that the sabbatic wine is "distilled by the rite of the XI° ... in the cauldron of the Scarlet Woman".⁸³ Given Grant's interpretation of the OTO's XI° as involving the magical use of menstrual blood,⁸⁴ this statement seemingly implies that the "wine of the Sabbath" is menstrual blood, or a combination of the latter with semen.

Grant cautions against "puerile" interpretations of witchcraft conceived by "medieval churchmen, witch-hunters and present-day revivalists".⁸⁵ Significantly, this statement appears to critique both negative witch-hunt stereotypes and modern witchcraft, and Grant posits these interpretations as a "travesty" of the Tantric *Kaula* Circle.⁸⁶ He asserts that the traditional

number of 13 coven members in a witch coven “represents the true *chakra* or Kaula Circle”, and that 13 is the “lunar number *par excellence*, the number of the female and her periodic manifestations”.⁸⁷ He suggests the symbolism of the witch “on the besom or broom handle” indicates “the originally feminine character of the Sabbath”, reflecting its roots in “the African origins of magic, when the female was exalted above the male”.⁸⁸ Connecting the witch to the Tantric priestess, Grant writes that the active role of the woman of the Kaula Circle, who physically incarnates the *Kundalini* and “directs the worship”, can be correlated with the active role of women in Spare’s description of the astral witches’ sabbath, where the men took a “peculiarly passive” position.⁸⁹ Thus, Grant posits an association between witchcraft and the elevation of femininity, and of female ritual leadership.

Grant links menstruation to anti-witch paranoia, writing that the witch transmits “emanations from the abyss of blood”, identified with the *gli-photic* domain.⁹⁰ He contends that taboos against menstruation were rooted in the correct suspicion “that woman and her peculiar mechanism constituted ... a gateway on to the void, through which awful forces could be invoked”.⁹¹ Grant views this ability to manifest unearthly entities as highly desirable, and linked to the “Nightside” of the Tree of Life, a central and important concept in his thought. He writes that witchcraft is presided over by “Hecate, or Hekt, the frog-headed goddess”, construing the frog as a symbol of the leaper between worlds, connected to the formula of the “Voltigeurs”, who can traverse the Nightside of the Tree.⁹² In *Nightside of Eden*, Grant recounts accompanying Gardner to a London apartment to conduct a witch-ritual aimed at raising magical energy so as to contact extra-terrestrial intelligences.⁹³ Witchcraft, via menstruation, is thereby linked in Grant’s writings to a supposedly female-specific biological talent for communing with unearthly forces.

Unlike in Parsons’s writings, witchcraft also has negative connotations in Grant’s work. He describes it as “the degenerate offspring” of the ancient, Typhonian cult, “so distorted and so inadequate that to try and interpret the symbols ... without reference to the vastly ancient systems from which they derive is like mistaking the tip of an iceberg for its total mass”.⁹⁴ Despite being originally linked to the Typhonian Tradition, Grant stresses that “centuries of Christian persecution” produced pseudo-witch cults of “perverted religious rites and symbols having no inner meaning” but to express “the witches’ total commitment to anti-Christian doctrine”.⁹⁵ However, Grant writes, when interpreted at their true,

Typhonian level, the symbols become intelligible and recognisable as a part of the same tradition.⁹⁶ Similarly, Grant suggests that "Salem Witchcraft" links ancient Egyptian magic to Spare's teachings, contending the Salem witches had contact with Lovecraftian entities.⁹⁷

Unlike Parsons and Gardner, Grant does not recommend witchcraft as a religion in itself. Grant's witchcraft is not focused on fertility, and unlike both Gardner and Parsons, he repeatedly suggests the sabbath takes place astrally.⁹⁸ He interprets the sabbath as hinting at the ancient Typhonian mysteries, but cautions against taking sabbatic symbolism too literally. It is difficult to estimate to what extent Grant's notions of witchcraft were derived from Crowley. As noted earlier, the term "wine of the Sabbath" appears in *The Vision and the Voice* and "Agape vel Liber C vel Azoth". As a IX° initiate of OTO, Grant may have derived some of his notions of the "wine" from Crowley. However, Grant's use of the Latinised term *vinum sabbati*—which I have not encountered in Crowley's work—also suggests a direct influence from Machen. However, the greatest source of inspiration for Grant's view of witchcraft is, arguably, Spare, whom Grant frequently cites as the source of his own knowledge of the sabbath. Nonetheless, Grant's and Spare's collaboration around witchcraft is a complex topic, and some of Spare's ideas about witchcraft likely came from Grant.⁹⁹

Grant in his written work dealt considerably less with social power relations than did Parsons, or indeed Michelet or Leland. Thus, a frequently overlooked aspect of the Typhonian Trilogies is Grant's engagement with tropes prevalent in some branches of second-wave feminism. Indeed, as I have argued elsewhere, Grant was one of the first writers to offer a systematic critique of perceived androcentrism within Crowley's sexual magic.¹⁰⁰ This tendency in his writings is partly reflected in some of his remarks on witchcraft. Grant links the central position of women at the witches' sabbath to the Typhonian Tradition's focus on the feminine (both in divine form and in the shape of the sex-magical priestess)—a recurrent theme in the Typhonian Trilogies.¹⁰¹ He also links the sabbatic wine to the *kalas*, a central concept in his work. Grant's suggestion that the symbol of the witch has been shaped by misogyny parallels interpretations by second-wave feminist authors.¹⁰² There is also evidence of reciprocal influence between Grant and the poets Peter Redgrove and Penelope Shuttle. Redgrove inquired about Grant's work when writing *The Wise Wound* (1978), the couple's Jungian-feminist treatise on menstruation, and corresponded with Crowley's friend Gerald Yorke on the subject of

menstruation, Grant, and the *kalas*.¹⁰³ Redgrove and Shuttle's work has, in turn, influenced interpretations of menstruation in contemporary feminist spirituality.¹⁰⁴ Grant's engagement with what can be seen as feminist notions, and the possible, indirect influence of his ideas on broader feminist discourses, is an aspect of his work I hope to explore further in future publications.

CONCLUSION

Despite the dubious historical veracity of the anecdote referenced in the introduction, witch-related themes were not explicitly connected with female liberation in Crowley's writings. The importance of the convergence of witchcraft with second-wave feminism in the U.S. in the 1970s for the late-modern trajectory of the witch as a cultural symbol is immense, and the connections between witchcraft and female emancipation in Grant's and Parsons's writings are arguably overshadowed by writers such as Starhawk or Monica Sjöö. Nonetheless, the present article has sought to indicate how related ideas were also explored in other contexts, by a pre-Wiccan American occultist, and a British occult writer with a critical view of modern witchcraft. Given the politicisation of occulture in recent years, it is possible that their works will receive greater attention as possible sources of inspiration for modern iterations of witchcraft.¹⁰⁵ Elsewhere, I have discussed how both Parsons and Grant in different ways position femininity as central to their spiritual vision—Parsons through his emphasis on Babalon as saviour of humanity, and on women as religious and socio-political leaders, and Grant through his focus on the *kalas*, the Tantric priestess, and the ontological primacy of the divine feminine.¹⁰⁶ Consequently, though I believe both had multiple reasons for engaging with the symbolism of witchcraft, I propose that Parsons' and Grant's notions of the witch can be linked to their respective engagements with reevaluating femininity.

NOTES

1. Ronald Hutton, "Crowley and Wicca," in *Aleister Crowley and Western Esotericism*, ed. Henrik Bogdan and Martin P. Starr (New York: Oxford University Press, 2012), 285–306.
2. See, for example, J. L. Bracelin, *Gerald Gardner: Witch* (Octagon Press, 1960), 174. Cf Ronald Hutton, *The Triumph of the Moon: A History of*

- Modern Pagan Witchcraft* (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 1999), 219.
3. This idea recurs both in academic literature—see, for example, Hugh B. Urban, *Magia Sexualis: Sex, Magic, and Liberation in Modern Western Esotericism* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2006), 135; Alex Owen, *The Place of Enchantment: British Occultism and the Culture of the Modern* (Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 2004), 216—and esoteric texts—as discussed in detail in Manon Hedenborg White, *The Eloquent Blood: The Goddess Babalon and the Construction of Femininities in Western Esotericism* (forthcoming).
 4. Hedenborg White, *The Eloquent Blood*.
 5. Crowley's account of the events leading up to, and including, the reception of *Liber AL* can be found in Aleister Crowley, *The Equinox of the Gods* (London: OTO, 1936).
 6. Aleister Crowley, *The Book of the Law: Liber AL Vel Legis: With a Facsimile of the Manuscript as Received by Aleister and Rose Edith Crowley on April 8, 9, 10, 1904 E.v. Centennial Edition* (York Beach, ME: Red Wheel/Weiser, 2004).
 7. Hutton, *Triumph*.
 8. Aleister Crowley, *Clouds Without Water* (Des Plaines, IL: Yogi Publication Society, 1974).
 9. See, for example, Serenity Young, *Women Who Fly: Goddesses, Witches, Mystics, and Other Airborne Females* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2018), 158, 167–169.
 10. Aleister Crowley, "The Wizard Way," *The Equinox* I, no. 1 (1909), 36–46.
 11. Aleister Crowley, "The Wake World," in *Konx Om Pax: Essays in Light* (Des Plaines, IL: Yogi Publication Society, 1974), xiii–24.
 12. Incidentally, Neuburg's poetry shows similar influences. See, for example, Victor B. Neuburg, *The Triumph of Pan* (London: Skoob Books, 1989).
 13. Aleister Crowley, *The Vision and the Voice: With Commentary and Other Papers: The Equinox, Volume IV Number II* (York Beach, ME: Samuel Weiser, 1998). Babalon's role in Thelema is analysed at length in Hedenborg White, *The Eloquent Blood*.
 14. Crowley, *The Vision and the Voice*, 149.
 15. Rev. 17:6 [KJV].
 16. Arthur Machen, *The Three Impostors, or The Transmutations* (London: John Lane, 1895). However, it is possible that Crowley's usage of the phrase has dual influences, as the record of the twelfth Aethyr subsequently mentions a "Holy Assembly"; a phrase repeatedly used in the Hebrew Bible to reference the sabbath as well as other Jewish holidays. See, for example, Exo. 12:16; Lev. 23; Num. 28, 29 [KJV].
 17. Crowley, *The Vision and the Voice*.

18. Crowley, *The Vision and the Voice*, 241.
19. Theodor Reuss, ed., *I.N.R.I. Jubilaeums-Ausgabe Der Oriflamme* (Berlin and London, 1912).
20. Aleister Crowley, "De Nuptiis Secretis Deorum Cum Hominibus" (1914), Gerald J. Yorke Collection OS25, Warburg Institute Library.
21. Henrik Bogdan, "Challenging the Morals of Western Society: The Use of Ritualized Sex in Contemporary Occultism," *The Pomegranate* 8, no. 2 (2006): 211–246.
22. Aleister Crowley, "AGAPE Vel Liber C Vel AZOTH. Sal Philosophorum the Book of the Unveiling of the Sangraal Wherein It Is Spoken of the Wine of the Sabbath of the Adepts" (1914), Gerald J. Yorke Collection OS26, Warburg Institute Library.
23. For example, *Liber AL I*:16; Aleister Crowley, *Magical and Philosophical Commentaries on the Book of the Law*, eds. John Symonds and Kenneth Grant (Montreal: 93 Publishing, 1974), 104.
24. Aleister Crowley, *The Confessions of Aleister Crowley: An Autobiography* (London: Arkana, 1989), 147.
25. A prominent example is Crowley's identification with the Great Beast 666, and his reinterpretation of the Whore of Babylon as a soteriological goddess. Crowley, *Confessions*, 44. Cf Hedenborg White, *The Eloquent Blood*.
26. George Pendle, *Strange Angel: The Otherworldly Life of Rocket Scientist John Whiteside Parsons*, 1st ed. (Orlando: Harcourt, 2005).
27. Starr notes that the Agape guest registrar, likely erroneously, lists Parsons's first visit as having occurred in January 1938. Martin P. Starr, *The Unknown God: W.T. Smith and the Thelemites*, 1st ed. (Bolingbrook, IL: Teitan Press, 2003), 257. See also Pendle, *Strange Angel*, 134, 172; Starr, *The Unknown God*, 263.
28. Parsons appears to have derived the idea of elemental mates from "De Nuptiis". "De Nuptiis"; John W. Parsons, "Of Familiars" (n.d.), Gerald J. Yorke Collection, Warburg Institute Library. Contradictory indications as to when Parsons began conducting rituals with this objective in mind are given in Karl Germer, *Karl Germer: Selected Letters 1928–1962*, ed. David Shoemaker, Andrew Ferrell, and Stefan Voss (International College of Thelema, 2016) and John W. Parsons, "The Book of Babalon" (1946), Gerald J. Yorke Collection, Warburg Institute Library.
29. Starr, *The Unknown God*, 313; Pendle, *Strange Angel*, 261–263; Parsons, "Book of Babalon."
30. Parsons, "Book of Babalon." The Babalon Working is discussed in detail in Hedenborg White, *The Eloquent Blood*; Henrik Bogdan, "The Babalon Working 1946: L. Ron Hubbard, John Whiteside Parsons, and the Practice of Enochian Magic," *Numen: International Review for the History of Religions* 63, no. 1 (2016): 12–32.
31. Parsons, "Book of Babalon."

32. Crowley, "The Wizard Way."
33. Parsons, "Book of Babalon."
34. Parsons, "Book of Babalon."
35. John W. Parsons, "Freedom Is a Two-Edged Sword," in *Freedom Is a Two-Edged Sword and Other Essays*, ed. Hymenaeus Beta and Cameron (Tempe, AZ: New Falcon Publications, 2001), 9–43.
36. Parsons, "Freedom," 41.
37. Parsons, "Freedom," 42.
38. See John W. Parsons, "The Cup, the Sword and the Crux Ansata" and "The Star of Babalon," both in *Freedom Is a Two-Edged Sword and Other Essays*, ed. Hymenaeus Beta and Cameron (Tempe, AZ: New Falcon Publications, 2001).
39. As discussed in, for example, Hutton, *Triumph*; Chas S. Clifton, *Her Hidden Children: The Rise of Wicca and Paganism in America* (Lanham, MD: AltaMira Press, 2006).
40. John W. Parsons and Marjorie Cameron, *Songs for the Witch Woman: With Commentaries from William Breeze, George Pendle & Margaret Haines* (London: Fulgur Esoterica, 2014).
41. Parsons and Cameron, *Songs*, 35.
42. Parsons and Cameron, *Songs*, 51.
43. Parsons and Cameron, *Songs*, 46.
44. Parsons and Cameron, *Songs*, 71.
45. Parsons and Cameron, *Songs*, 39.
46. Marjorie Cameron, "The Black Pilgrimage," (n.d.), Cameron Parsons Foundation.
47. Robert W. Chambers, *The King in Yellow* (F. Tennyson Neely, 1895). Parsons's poem "Bierce" clearly refers to Ambrose Bierce, author of the short-story "An Inhabitant of Carcosa" in which the name "Carcosa" first appeared. Parsons's poem "Bierce" references Pancho Villa, whose army the historical Bierce joined, and "Halpin Fraser", the name of a character in one of Bierce's stories. Parsons and Cameron, *Songs*, 65.
48. Chorazin, located in present-day Israel and now in ruins, is mentioned in the Bible as one of three villages cursed by Jesus; Luke 10:13 [KJV]. Some medieval theologians also believed the Antichrist might come to be born there. This idea influenced Parsons; he calls Chorazin "the city of the Anti-Christ," and believed that his astral journey there marked his transition into the figure.
49. John W. Parsons, "The Book of the Antichrist" (n.d., [circa 1948]), Gerald J. Yorke Collection NS110, Warburg Institute Library.
50. Margaret Murray, *The Witch-Cult in Western Europe* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1921).
51. John W. Parsons, "The Black Pilgrimage" (n.d., [circa 1948]), OTO archives.

52. Parsons to Cameron, January 27, 1950, Gerald J. Yorke Collection, Warburg Institute Library.
53. John W. Parsons, "Manifesto of the Witchcraft," in *Freedom Is a Two-Edged Sword*, eds. Hymenaeus Beta and Cameron (Tempe, AZ: New Falcon Publications, 2001), 69.
54. Parsons, "The Cup, the Sword and the Crux Ansata," 79.
55. John W. Parsons, "The Witchcraft," in *Freedom Is a Two-Edged Sword and Other Essays*, ed. Hymenaeus Beta and Cameron (Tempe, AZ: New Falcon Publications, 2001), 71.
56. Parsons, "The Witchcraft."
57. Parsons, "The Witchcraft."
58. Aleister Crowley, "Liber XV: Ecclesiae Gnosticae Catholicae Canon Missae," *Equinox* 3, no. 1 (1919): 247–270.
59. Hutton, *Triumph*, esp. 138–143.
60. Jules Michelet, *Satanism and Witchcraft: A Study in Medieval Superstition*, trans. A. R. Allinson (New York: Citadel Press, 1963).
61. Cf Hutton, *Triumph*, esp. 142–150.
62. Charles Godfrey Leland, *Aradia: Or the Gospel of the Witches* (London: David Nutt, 1899).
63. On Leland's Lucifer, see Fredrik Gregorius, "Luciferian Witchcraft: At the Crossroads Between Paganism and Satanism," in *The Devil's Party: Satanism in Modernity*, ed. Per Faxneld and Jesper Aagaard Petersen (New York: Oxford University Press, 2013), 231–234.
64. See, for example, Parsons and Cameron, *Songs*, 59.
65. As discussed in a previous note, Parsons was certainly familiar with "De Nuptiis".
66. A prominent example of Crowley's engagement with arguably feminist themes can be found in his so-called New Comment to *Liber AL*, reproduced in Crowley, *Magical and Philosophical Comments*.
67. Parsons, "Book of Babalon."
68. Jack Williamson, *Darker Than You Think* (Fantasy Press, 1948). Cf Pendle, *Strange Angel*.
69. M. R. James, "Count Magnus," in *Ghost Stories of an Antiquary* (Edward Arnold, 1904). Cf Rosemary Pardoe and Jane Nicholls, "The Black Pilgrimage," *Ghosts & Scholars* 1998, no. 26 (1998).
70. Kenneth Grant, *Remembering Aleister Crowley* (London: Skoob Books Publishing, 1991), v.
71. Grant, *Remembering*, 49–50; Henrik Bogdan, "Reception of Occultism in India: The Case of the Holy Order of Krishna," in *Occultism in a Global Perspective*, ed. Henrik Bogdan and Gordan Djurdjevic (Durham: Acumen, 2013), 177–201; Henrik Bogdan, "Introduction," in *Brother Curwen, Brother Crowley: A Correspondence*, ed. Henrik Bogdan, Aleister Crowley, and David Curwen (York Beach, ME: Teitan Press, 2010), xviii–xlviii.

72. Grant, *Remembering*, 49.
73. Henrik Bogdan, "Kenneth Grant and the Typhonian Tradition," in *The Occult World*, ed. Christopher Partridge (Abingdon, Oxon: Routledge, 2014), 323–330.
74. Grant's interpretation of the Typhonian Tradition is explicated throughout the Typhonian Trilogies, especially the first three works. See also Christian Giudice, "From Central Africa to the Mauve Zone: Gerald Massey's Influence on Kenneth Grant's Idea of the Typhonian Tradition," in *Servants of the Star & the Snake: Essays in Honour of Kenneth & Steffi Grant*, ed. Henrik Bogdan (London: Starfire, 2018), 63–74.
75. Crowley, "Agape vel Liber C." See also Aleister Crowley, "Liber CDXIV: De Arte Magica" (1914), Gerald J. Yorke Collection NS3, Warburg Institute Library; Aleister Crowley, "Energized Enthusiasm," *The Equinox* 1, no. 9 (1913): 19–46.
76. Kenneth Grant, *Aleister Crowley & the Hidden God* (London: Skoob Books, 1992), 81. See also Kenneth Grant, *The Magical Revival* (London: Skoob, 1991), 34; Grant, *Remembering*, 49; Grant, *Aleister Crowley*. Cf Henrik Bogdan, "Evocation of the Fire Snake: Kenneth Grant and Tantra" in *Servants of the Star & the Snake: Essays in Honour of Kenneth & Steffi Grant*, ed. Henrik Bogdan (London: Starfire, 2018), 253–268; Gordan Djurdjevic, *India and the Occult: The Influence of South Asian Spirituality on Modern Western Occultism* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2014), 107.
77. See Kenneth Grant, "Vinum Sabbati," in *Hidden Lore: The Carfax Monographs*, ed. Kenneth Grant and Steffi Grant (London: Skoob Esoterica, 1996).
78. Grant and Grant, *Hidden Lore*.
79. Grant, *Aleister Crowley*, 121–122.
80. Grant, *Aleister Crowley*, 126.
81. Kenneth Grant, *Cults of the Shadow* (London: Skoob, 1994), 146.
82. Kenneth Grant, *Nightside of Eden* (London: Muller, 1977), 121.
83. Grant, *Nightside*, 230.
84. Grant, *Aleister Crowley*, 106–109; Grant, *Cults*, 12.
85. Grant, *Nightside*, 172–173.
86. Grant, *Cults*, 68.
87. Grant, *Aleister Crowley*, 82.
88. Grant, *Aleister Crowley*, 126.
89. Grant, *Cults*, 72.
90. Grant, *Nightside*, 78.
91. Grant, *Nightside*, 78.
92. Grant, *Nightside*, 173; see also Kenneth Grant, *Outside the Circles of Time* (London: Muller, 1980), 174–176.
93. Grant, *Nightside*, 122–123.
94. Grant, *Cults*, 195.

95. Grant, *Cults*, 207.
96. Grant, *Cults*, 208.
97. Grant, *Nightside*, 127–128.
98. For example, in Grant and Grant, *Hidden Lore*; Kenneth Grant and Steffi Grant, *Zos Speaks! Encounters with Austin Osman Spare* (London: Fulgur, 1998).
99. Grant and Grant, *Zos Speaks!*; Phil Baker, *Austin Osman Spare: The Occult Life of London's Legendary Artist* (Berkeley, CA: North Atlantic Books, 2014), 245–246.
100. Grant, *Aleister Crowley*, esp. 42–43; cf. Hedenborg White, *The Eloquent Blood*.
101. See, for example, Grant, *Aleister Crowley*, 21, 232; Grant, *Nightside*, 84.
102. For example, Mary Daly, *Gyn/Ecology: The Metaethics of Radical Feminism* (London: Women's Press, 1979); Starhawk, *The Spiral Dance: A Rebirth of the Ancient Religion of the Great Goddess*, 20th Anniversary ed. (San Francisco: HarperCollins, 1999).
103. "Redgrove Papers; Letters," MS171, University of Sheffield Library. The dust jacket for Grant's *Outside the Circles of Time* (1980) quotes an endorsement from *The Wise Wound*, and Redgrove's *The Black Goddess and the Sixth Sense* (1987) is reviewed in a 1989 issue of the journal *Starfire*, issued by Grant's "Typhonian" OTO (later the Typhonian Order). Michael Staley, "The Black Goddess and the Sixth Sense, Bloomsbury, 1987," *Starfire* 1, no. 3 (1989): 98–99.
104. Anna Fedele, "Reversing Eve's Curse: Mary Magdalene, Mother Earth and the Creative Ritualization of Menstruation," *Journal of Ritual Studies* 28, no. 2 (2014): 23–35.
105. See, for example, Egil Asprem, "The Magical Theory of Politics: Meme Magic, the Cult of Kek, and How to Topple an Egregore," forthcoming.
106. Cf Hedenborg White, *The Eloquent Blood*.